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In the hot-spring town of Yufuin, on Japan's southern island of Kyushu, there is a small "British-style theme park" (*Yufuin*).<sup>1</sup> Yufuin Floral Village, which opened for business in 2012, comprises a collection of shops, food stalls, and small-animal enclosures, each themed around a different figure from children's literature, film, and television (Fig. 1). Some of the texts drawn on are Japanese in origin, such as *My Neighbor Totoro* (1988) and *Kiki's Delivery Service* (novel, 1985; film, 1989); others, like *Heidi* (1881) and Tove Jansson's Moomin books, are European but known in Japan largely through successful anime adaptations;<sup>2</sup> *Curious George* (1939) and a Disney Princess shop constitute the American contribution. Despite this being a "British-style theme park," only a few of the shops are themed around British texts or characters, these being the classics, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1865) and *The Tale of Peter Rabbit* (1901), along with Aardman Animations' *Shaun the Sheep* (2007-18), a more recent hit in Japan. Nevertheless, Yufuin Floral Village is self-consciously Anglocentric in its presentation. A Mini with a Union-Jack motif is proudly displayed, there are cream teas for sale, and the main gift shop specializes in British-themed goods. Moreover, the Village's buildings, small and rustic in appearance, are modeled on those of the Cotswold hills in southern England, as the resort's website explains: "Yufuin Floral Village in Oita Prefecture is just like the world of Harry Potter. Yufuin Floral Village is a new amusement facility that recreates the townscape of the Cotswold region of Britain, which was also used as a location for *Harry Potter*" (*Yufuin*).<sup>3</sup>



*Fig. 1. “The Rabbit,” Yufuin Floral Village, Oita Prefecture (photograph by the author).*

The double reference to Harry Potter might lead one to expect a Harry Potter attraction or merchandise. In fact, Yufuin Floral Village boasts neither, although the website goes on to claim a resemblance between Harry Potter’s owl, Hedwig, and the snowy owl pictured at the entrance to its “Owl Forest.” The Cotswold connection is equally striking, and again the website doubles down on it, suggesting that Yufuin Floral Village is modeled on “what is called the world’s most beautiful village, in the Cotswold region of the United Kingdom.”<sup>4</sup>

Yufuin Floral Village conveniently combines a number of the tropes and striking juxtapositions with which this discussion will be concerned. In particular, it illustrates the Japanese association of children’s literature (of whatever provenance) with Britain, and specifically with the Cotswolds. That association is a complex one, the history and nature of which it is one purpose of this article to describe; but it also exemplifies a type of diffuse cultural interaction not easily captured by conventional critical approaches to the relationship of literature and place.

Those approaches are by now well established. Critics working on literary tourism typically combine cultural geography with reception analysis, examining the interaction of readers and tourists with places seen as significant for specific authors and texts and discussing the ways in which their activities inflect literary experience (Watson, *Literary Tourism*; Booth). Literary tourism studies are strong on the emotional connections that attach to tourist sites, but they are limited by their focus on specific texts and places. By contrast, topoanalysis, a term proposed by Gaston Bachelard to denote the psychological study of “the sites of our intimate lives” (30), allows for the exploration of places and their affective qualities at a more general and archetypal level, as for example in Jane Suzanne Carroll’s work on Susan Cooper and J. R. R. Tolkien (Carroll, *Landscape*; Carroll, “Topoanalytical Reading”). Yet other critics (for example, Nikolajeva 121-52) have made productive use of the Bakhtinian concept of the chronotope as a tool with which to investigate the indissoluble connection of space and time in the construction of fictional settings. Topoanalytical and chronotopical approaches, with their respective archetypal and intertextual emphases, escape some of the restrictions of literary tourism studies, although their capacity to articulate the relationships of texts and readers to physical places is correspondingly weaker.

These methodologies cover a good deal of territory but are in only intermittent conversation with each other. In this article, based on fieldwork conducted in Japan and the Cotswolds in the spring and summer of 2018, I aim to establish a more flexible, syncretic mode of analysis capable of doing justice to the complex interactions of reading, tourism, and the imagination. As I shall argue, the Cotswolds constitute a case where the insufficiency of conventional approaches to children’s literature tourism is especially apparent; indeed, in the context of this article the region’s capacity to expose the inadequacy of those approaches is its

most salient feature. However, my broader argument is that the kind of multifaceted analysis attempted here has a far wider application.

“Literary tourism” is a well-established term in Anglophone countries, but here I will generally prefer the Japanese-English phrase, “contents tourism” [コンテンツツーリズム], which has been current since the early years of this century. In the words of a 2005 report from Japan’s Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism, contents tourism involves “the addition of a ‘narrative quality’ or ‘theme’ to a region—namely an atmosphere or image particular to the region generated by the contents—and the use of that narrative quality as a tourism resource” (qtd. in Seaton et al., 2). “Contents tourism” thus offers a less restrictive arena for analysis than “literary tourism,” accommodating the fact that tourists may be engaged with multiple media, and that their journeys are often not to the settings of literary texts or to places where an author is supposed to have found inspiration but to film or television locations. Many contents tourists, indeed, may not consider literary texts to be the primary form of a narrative, even where they have chronological priority. Young Japanese visitors to Yufuin Floral Village are likely to encounter the anime versions of *Heidi*, the Moomin books, and *Kiki’s Delivery Service* long before the novels on which they are based. Similarly, Harry Potter fans (whether Japanese or Anglophone) may regard the films rather than the books as the stories’ primary instantiation.<sup>5</sup> Contents tourism acknowledges this complex and fluid combination of experiences, motivations, and associations without automatically privileging its literary aspects. More importantly for the current purpose, in its focus on “narrative” rather than on specific texts, contents tourism allows for a flexible articulation of the relationships of story and place, mediated by the imaginative interpretations and interventions of tourists themselves. Flexible as contents tourism is, however, this concept too has its limitations, as we shall see.

*The Cotswolds as Genfuukei: or, Harry Potter and the Limits of Contents Tourism*

Contents tourism studies typically focus on specific sites that can be linked to texts or authors, as settings, inspirations, film locations, places of biographical significance, or (as in the case of Yufuin Floral Village) deliberately constructed attractions. The Cotswolds and the Lake District, both popular destinations for Japanese tourists to the United Kingdom, offer an instructive contrast when considered in the light of these criteria. The Lake District, in the northwest of England, is an apparently simple case. It is strongly associated in Japanese popular culture with the stories of Beatrix Potter, especially *The Tale of Peter Rabbit*, which has been hugely popular in Japan for half a century. (The area's connections with the Romantic poets, and even with other children's writers such as Arthur Ransome, are far less prominent.) Potter's home at Hill Top in Near Sawrey is a regular destination; in 2013, some 15,000 Japanese visitors paid their respects at her cottage, more than 20% of the annual visitor total (Williams).<sup>6</sup> There is much that might be usefully learned about the expectations and experiences of these Japanese tourists and of the ways in which their visits intersect with their textual understandings of Potter's work. Nevertheless, the fact their activity can be neatly framed in conventional contents tourism terms—as a literary pilgrimage to a famous author's home—is liable to focus (and arguably confine) inquiry within an established contents tourism paradigm.

The Cotswolds are a different matter. Unlike the Lake District, the Cotswolds boast no one place—town, house, landmark—with a famous literary connection comparable to Hill Top. The remark in the Wikipedia entry on the Cotswold village of Bibury, that it is “famous as Emperor Hirohito's favourite place in England and as the home of no-one famous or remarkable”

might, with due allowance for self-deprecation, stands for the region as a whole (“Bibury”). For the purpose of this article, the lack of iconic children’s literature sites is precisely where the interest of the Cotswolds lies, for in the absence of such sites other features and processes may become more easily available for inspection.

It is not impossible to read the Cotswolds too in conventional contents tourism terms; however, the limitations of this approach quickly become apparent. The example of J. K. Rowling’s Harry Potter series, which (as we saw in the publicity for Yufuin Floral Village) has been claimed for the Cotswolds, provides a convenient test case. How far can a contents tourism approach carry us toward understanding that association? My contention is that it largely eludes such analysis, exemplifying the diffuse and tangential qualities in play in tourist activity, and demonstrating the extent to which the narrative potential of an area is realized through the imaginative labor of visitors.

Rowling’s series has been by far the most popular example of British children’s literature over the last generation, and the appetite for associated contents tourism is correspondingly high. However, not only do the plots of the books largely take place in fictional locations, but the most important of these—Hogwarts and its neighboring village, Hogsmeade—are invisible to ordinary humans, factors that might seem to limit touristic potential. Relatively few visible (and hence visitable) places feature in the series, the most famous probably being King’s Cross station in London, where a luggage trolley has been duly constructed half sunk into the wall for fans to pose with. Otherwise, would-be contents tourists must make do with visiting the Warner Bros. Studios at Leavesden in Hertfordshire, film locations and inspirations for studio sets, or places thought to have inspired Rowling herself. These are the conventional fare of contents tourism.

The case for regarding the Cotswolds as a site of Potter contents tourism on grounds such

as these is not entirely void. Rowling spent her childhood nearby, first in the small town of Yate, northeast of Bristol, and later in Tutshill on the River Severn, and must have known the area well. The unusual surname Dursley, which she gave to Harry Potter's foster family, is found in its greatest concentration near the Cotswold town of the same name, from which it derives, some twenty miles from both these childhood homes (PublicProfiler). The appearance in *Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows* (2007) of Gloucestershire's Forest of Dean and the attribution of a Wiltshire location to Malfoy Manor are suggestive of the wider area's presence in Rowling's imagination, though tantalizing for those who might wish to secure for the Cotswolds an unambiguous foothold in the Potter canon.

As for film locations, the claim of the Yufuin Floral Village website that the Cotswolds were "used as a location for 'Harry Potter'" relies on a rather generous definition of the region's boundaries. Gloucester Cathedral provided one of the sets for Hogwarts, while the grounds of Blenheim Palace were the stage for James Potter's bullying of Severus Snape in *The Order of the Phoenix* (2007), but both of these fall just outside the Cotswolds region, one a little to the west, the other to the east. A few miles southeast of the Cotswolds, the Wiltshire village of Lacock is probably one of the most-filmed small settlements in Britain, having provided sets for many historical television dramas and films, including *Pride and Prejudice* (1995) and *Downton Abbey* (2010-15). Lacock contributed Horace Slughorn's house and the Babberton Arms to the film of *Harry Potter and the Half-Blood Prince* (2009), while the cloisters of Lacock Abbey were yet another contributor to the Hogwarts architecture. According to Abbey staff, the Harry Potter connection is the main attraction for many of their Japanese visitors, but neither they nor any of the retailers to whom I spoke in the village considered Lacock to be in the Cotswolds: responses to the question included "No, it's in Wiltshire," "It's very close," "It depends how you define



‘Cotswolds,’” and so on.

Lacock is on the itinerary of many Japanese coach tours from London, which may take it in, along with Bath and one or two Cotswold villages, as part of a day excursion. Readers of some Japanese Cotswold guidebooks will find Lacock included (for example, Kobayashi 128-33), and tote bags sold by the National Trust shop on the High Street are branded with a map of the Cotswolds area that has been expanded to include the village. From a Japanese perspective, then, while it may not be accurate to claim the Cotswolds as a location for Harry Potter, neither is it entirely unreasonable. Nevertheless, the Cotswolds themselves offer only very limited scope for contents tourism, whether for Harry Potter or for the other British children’s texts well known in Japan. In order to understand the Japanese association of the Cotswolds with children’s literature, and the reasons why an attraction such as Yufuin Floral Village might emphasize its debt to the region’s architecture, we must broaden our focus to consider the overall role of the Cotswolds as a Japanese tourist destination.

The Cotswold hills lie some one hundred miles west of London, occupying about eight hundred square miles of Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, Warwickshire, and Worcestershire. In this article, the phrase “the Cotswolds” generally refers to the Cotswolds Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty (AONB), as designated by Natural England, along with the smaller but overlapping area administered by the Cotswold District Council.<sup>7</sup> At times, however, “the Cotswolds” can also denote a more loosely defined imaginative concept, clustered around such features as a pastoral landscape of hills and sheep, market towns and villages, cottages of honey-colored limestone, and an ethos of rural craftsmanship. Like Arcadia, the Cotswolds function both as a geographical place and as an idealized *topos*. The exact borders of such an area must remain fuzzy; indeed, that fuzziness helps make it adaptable to new cultural and

geographical contexts.

It is to the latter version of the Cotswolds that Japanese visitors are generally attracted, and which brings them in such numbers that the railway station at Moreton-in-Marsh (where passengers arrive from London) has installed signage in Japanese as well as English for their benefit (Fig. 2). No official figures are kept, but anecdotal evidence from retailers and Tourist Office staff across the region, whom I interviewed over the summer of 2018, suggests that in certain popular spots, notably Bibury, Bourton-on-the-Water, and Castle Combe,<sup>8</sup> the majority of foreign visitors are from Japan.



*Fig. 2. Japanese signage at Moreton-in-Marsh (photograph by the author).*

The historical origins of the Cotswolds' popularity in Japan are somewhat obscure. As hinted above, one possible impetus was the enthusiasm of the future Emperor Hirohito, who is said to have stayed in Bibury as part of his six-month tour of Europe in 1921. That visit may in turn have been indirectly prompted by the poet and designer, William Morris (a respected figure in Japan [Nakayama]), who remarked in a letter of August 1890 that Bibury was “surely the most

beautiful village in England” (Morris 188). Since the Edo era, Japanese tourist culture has set great store by ranked lists and places authoritatively deemed superlative, and Morris’s phrase has been widely quoted, although the referent and scope of his words have sometimes changed in the telling. They almost certainly lie behind the otherwise-cryptic reference on the Yufuin Floral Village website to “what is called the world’s most beautiful village,” for example, and probably inform the title of Shabako Kobayashi’s Cotswolds guidebook *England’s Most Beautiful Place: The Cotswolds* (2015),<sup>9</sup> published in the bestselling Globetrotter [地球の歩き方] series. The website of the Hotel Monterey Grasmere in Osaka, where the twenty-second and twenty-third floors are occupied by a three-quarter replica of All Saint’s Church in Brockhampton, Herefordshire, claims it for the Cotswolds via a mangled version of William Morris’s remark: “The design imitates the churches of the Cotswolds, described by the renowned designer William Morris as the most beautiful in England” (Hotel Monterey Grasmere). Even a group of Japanese schoolchildren, whom I encountered in Bourton-on-the-Water in July 2018, engaged on a two-week cultural exchange, carried a single-sheet itinerary that promised an imminent visit to “Bibury, praised by the artist William Morris as ‘the most beautiful village in England.’”<sup>10</sup>

One attraction of the Cotswolds, particularly for adult visitors, appears to lie in the contrast they offer to urban Japanese life, as a place where “people live together with nature in a peaceful atmosphere” (*Yufuin*).<sup>11</sup> David Strachan of Totteoki Cotswolds Tours, who has been giving private tours of the Cotswolds to Japanese visitors since 2004, reported in my interview with him that his clients are not generally interested in the public events of British history, but that they value the Cotswolds as a retreat from the pressures of modernity:

One woman . . . there was a couple and their teenage daughter. We met them at the station. They’d come from Japan to London, London to Moreton, then into our

vehicle. We took them to a little village. She got out and burst into tears, because, she said, she didn't realize anywhere could be so beautiful. She was like that the rest of the day, overwhelmed by everything. . . .

Another mother and daughter, at the end of the tour I asked them what they thought of it, and the mother said, "I feel like I've been cured." And then she went all wet-eyed, and her daughter said she'd been under a lot of stress, she lived in Tokyo, and her job and family situation was really stressful, and spending the day just chilling out in the Cotswolds just made it all go away. . . .

A lot of people, they just want to sit and relax, and when they go to Sudeley Castle, I always say to them, just sit on the bench. Then they sit down, look round, and lean back, and then their eyes close and all the stress just disappears from them.

(Strachan)

One Japanese guidebook introduces the Cotswolds under the heading, "England's Primary Landscape that Heals the Heart," emphasizing this restorative function (Ohashi 8-9).<sup>12</sup> To value the Cotswolds as an escape from modern life and its stresses is, almost by definition, to view them in opposition to those things, as belonging to the past or to a realm removed from historical change altogether—a place of story. The term I have translated above as "primary landscape" is *genfuukei* [原風景], which refers both to a nostalgically remembered scene from early childhood and an archetypal landscape evocative of a place's past. Such topoanalytical landscapes powerfully combine personal and public geography, anchoring both in the past and using generic cues to evoke emotional reactions and memories, even of places only ever visited in imagination or play.

Children's fiction offers one potent way of framing the Cotswolds so as to fulfill this

function, and the language of children's stories is accordingly common in Japanese accounts of the region. The same guidebook's entry on Bibury, for example, is titled "Beloved Cotswold Village that Appears to Be From the World of Fairy Tale" (Ohashi 18),<sup>13</sup> while *England's Most Beautiful Place*, similarly, asserts that Castle Combe seems "to have been taken from a nursery tale" (Kobayashi 124).<sup>14</sup> Such places evoke the past, but a generalized, "Once upon a time" past rather than one linked to specific dates or events. Such "occidentalists' uses of the Cotswolds suggest one possible reason why a site such as Yufuin Floral Village might claim the area as a model in the specific context of children's literature. The Cotswolds' cultural or historical importance, and even their status as a setting or inspiration for children's texts, may count for less than their capacity to be imaginatively reframed by Japanese tourists, writers, and readers.

The association of the Cotswolds with children's literature is no less powerful for being diffuse rather than specific. On the contrary, that quality lends the Cotswolds greater flexibility than would be the case if its town- and landscapes were bound by a particular contents tourism site or narrative context. In its old-fashioned picturesqueness, the area evokes innumerable traditional children's literature settings: Castle Combe and Bibury are not alone in appearing to have been "taken from a nursery tale." When asked for their impressions of the area, many of the Japanese tourists to whom I spoke in Bourton-on-the-Water turned to children's literature for comparisons: they were reminded of a picturebook [絵本], a nursery tale [おとぎ話], of *Harry Potter*, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, and *Peter Rabbit*. The Cotswolds may not be the setting for these texts, but such familiar stories provide a frame of reference through which the area's appearance can be interpreted. The rustic cottages, kitchen gardens, ancient churches, winding lanes, and narrow stone bridges recall both the texts and the illustrations of many children's books, especially for younger children. Indeed, the popularity in Japan of British

classics such as *The Tale of Peter Rabbit* has long provided a template for Japanese understanding and perception of the English countryside, one that has been constantly renewed both in and beyond literature. In 1985, for example, the Japanese company Epoch set the world of their popular Sylvanian Families toys in a place that, although officially unidentified, seems “quintessentially English . . . pastoral and blissfully low-tech (all lacy aprons, mob-caps, Morris Minors and caravans)” (Clark)—an image that might have been calculated to stir a sense of familiarity in a subsequent visitor to the Cotswolds.

With their cast of woodland creatures, Sylvanian Families emphasize the qualities of “littleness” and “snugness” that Jerry Griswold has identified as characteristic of much children’s literature (51). Similarly, as the Cotswolds Tourism Officer, Chris Jackson, pointed out in our interview, one of the area’s primary attractions is that its settlements are all small, running at most into a few tens of thousands. Among the towns and villages most visited by Japanese, Bourton-on-the-Water has a population of 3,300, Bibury 700, and Castle Combe fewer than 400. Individual houses and shops, too, are generally small in scale, with low beams and lintels, having been built at a time when most people were slighter in frame. The importance of scale is brought most vividly to bear in Bourton-on-the-Water’s model village, an attraction built from Cotswold stone in 1936 and reproducing the village of that time at a scale of one to nine. In a playful use of *mise en abyme*, the model village contains a small replica of itself, which in turn contains an even smaller replica, while in a life-size picture at its entrance Lemuel Gulliver can be seen wandering among Bourton’s diminutive houses (Figs. 3 and 4). *Gulliver’s Travels* (1726), which has always been understood in Japan as a children’s story (Tanaka 78-80), provides a useful entry point for visitors to Bourton and its model village. The presence of Swift’s book was already implicit in a 1938 British Pathé film about the attraction, *Lilliput Village*, but was

reinforced throughout the 1950s and '60s through a self-published booklet sold at the site, *Gulliver in the Cotswolds*, which offered an admiring account of the model village, written as if by Gulliver himself. In it, “Gulliver” takes the opportunity to meditate on the imaginative effect of such sudden changes of scale:

I tried to project myself into the mind of [a model maker] and thought how he must be always living in two worlds at once—the actual and the miniature. How he must subconsciously be changing from the powerful Brobdingnagian when in his own workshop to the apprehensive Lilliputian when he battles in the vast world of reality.

As this suggests, the model village is offered not just as an exercise in craftsmanship but as an affective prompt, one that has primed visitors ever since to experience it in narrative terms. This certainly includes Japanese tourists, several of whose TripAdvisor reviews mention the ways in which the village plays with perception, often making reference to Gulliver: “It feels just like being Gulliver. When you arrive in the town, first come here, then stroll around the town and its river, and then come back to this place to double the fun” (ichan0108).<sup>15</sup> The model village is a convenient metaphor for, but also a tangible example of, the ways in which the Cotswolds accommodate fantasy, evoking fairy tales and children’s stories about beings large and small.



*Fig. 3. Gulliver wanders through a Lilliputian Bourton-on-the-Water (photograph by the author).*



*Fig. 4. “It feels just like being Gulliver.” Tourists explore the model village (photograph by the author).*

It is a commonplace of reader-response theory that readers of texts approach them with a set of genre scripts and expectations; equally, John Urry has described the “particular filter of ideas,



skills, desires and expectations” that constitute the so-called tourist gaze, ensuring for example that “when a small village in England is seen, what [tourists] gaze upon is the ‘real olde England’” (2, 5). Probably these are variant forms of the same activity, in which prior knowledge and desire mediate present experience in ways that can be anticipated and exploited. Japanese visitors to the Cotswolds (along with the area’s inhabitants and custodians) adopt and actively maintain a Cotswold “filter,” selecting certain qualities as valuable and visible and setting parameters for their reception and reuse. That filter determines which views and buildings will feature in brochures or Instagram feeds, which adjectives will offer themselves for use, and which aesthetic and emotional responses will arise as if unbidden. The relationships between places, visitors, texts, and readers, and their ability to anticipate and modify each other, create a complex semantic space that is potentially generative not just of literary experience but of new texts, whether in the form of physical sites such as Yufuin Floral Village and other Cotswold-inspired tourism centers in Japan, or fictions that (as we shall see) draw or build on the Cotswolds for their atmosphere and aesthetics.

Rowling too, in writing her novels, made extensive use of long-established *topoi* to establish her world’s appearance and atmosphere. Many of these had to do with the evocation of antiquity. For example, her school is located in an ancient castle rather than a modern building; the pupils travel there by steam train; they wear academic gowns and use quills rather than ballpoint pens. To some extent these features echo the sartorial and other eccentricities of British public schools, but (while not magical in themselves) they also utilize the chronotope of witchcraft and wizardry in their hundreds of prior representations in literature and art, where they are typically associated with ancient buildings and a generic past. That chronotope was powerful enough to influence both Rowling’s representation of Hogwarts and her readers’ reception of it;

but it also extends into the reception of physical experience. For someone steeped in the world of Harry Potter, as represented in the books, films, and places such as Universal Studio's Harry Potter attraction in Osaka, a townscape of ancient stone cottages of the kind for which the Cotswolds are noted will inevitably conjure the wizarding world—especially if, for reasons of tradition and practicality (frequent earthquakes, lack of building stone), similar buildings are rare in one's own country. If your idea of a magical village is influenced by Hogsmeade, then when you encounter that style of architecture you will think of Harry Potter.<sup>16</sup> In this respect, the Cotswolds do not provide a point of origin; rather, they exemplify an established archetype.

### *The Cotswolds in Japan*

One way to understand how Japanese people interpret the Cotswolds is to consider which features they select and emphasize when they set up British-themed attractions in Japan itself. In addition to Yufuin Floral Village, there are numerous Japanese establishments that make a feature of British children's literature and culture, such as Shuzenji Niji no Sato in Shizuoka Prefecture, where visitors to the "British Village" can see a toy museum as well as ride a replica of a British miniature steam railway, or the eclectic attractions at Lockheart Castle in Gunma Prefecture (transported stone by stone from the Scottish borders in 1988), with its teddy bear and Santa Claus collections. Manipulation of scale and a degree of visitor participation are particularly frequent elements. In the *Alice in Wonderland*-themed shop, "Alice on Wednesday," for example, the entrance is made deliberately small, so that adult customers are forced to stoop as they enter, sharing something of Alice's discomfort (Fig. 5). Shinjuku's "Alice in a Fantasy Book" restaurant not only boasts staff dressed as Alice and the Mad Hatter, with décor to match,

but serves food and drink with “Eat Me” and “Drink Me” labels. Other establishments trade on broader cultural tropes of Britishness. In Ikebukuro’s Swallowtail “butler café,” the (predominantly female) customers are escorted to their seats by staff in tailcoats, through a room featuring chandeliers, swag curtains, pastoral art, and alcoves with books such as *Peter Rabbit* on display. A butler, summoned with a handbell, will produce tiered plates of sandwiches and small cakes, served with Earl Grey tea, and bid goodbye to his “mistress” [お嬢さん] by announcing that her “carriage” [馬車] has arrived. For all their diversity, such establishments share an emphasis on providing customers with an immersive experience, in which they are the main characters in an English fantasy—and a fantasy of Englishness.

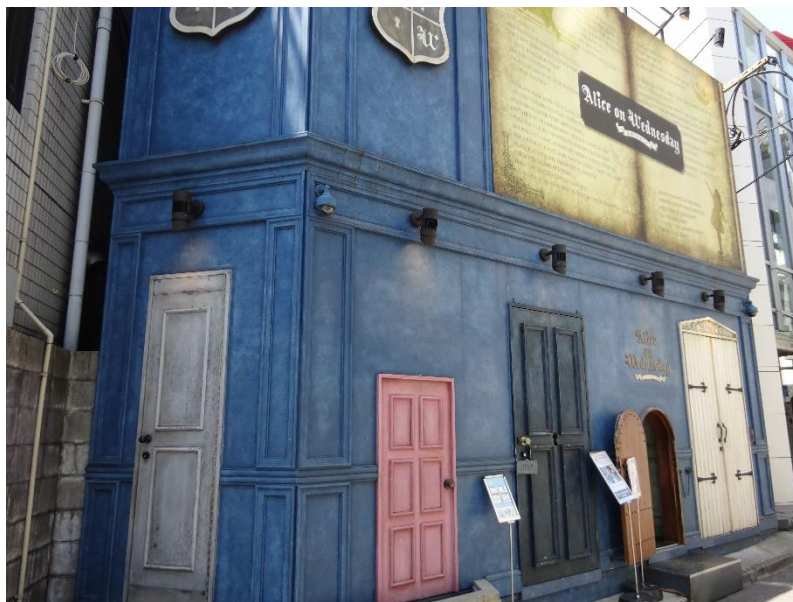


Fig. 5. *Alice on Wednesday* in Harajuku, Tokyo (photograph by the author).

That fantasy tends to concentrate on a rather select set of traits. There is little here of urban, or indeed of modern, Britain. Rather, the vision is one of a rural, hierarchical society, set somewhat

back in time—a vision, in fact, rather like that of the Cotswolds. In Japan, this vision finds its purest incarnation in the village of Dreamton [ドゥリムトン], situated in the hills outside Kameoka, in Kyoto Prefecture. The brainchild of an Anglophile native of Kyoto, Mayumi “Marie” Haruyama, Dreamton opened in 2011 as an attempt to create a Cotswold village in the very different landscape and climate of Japan. Cotswold stone being unsuited to Japan’s geology, its cottages were constructed using British sand and cement, but the interiors are carefully sourced from Haruyama’s regular visits to Britain as an antique dealer. At the Pont-Oak restaurant, diners can eat a full English breakfast or fish and chips to the accompaniment of Elizabethan airs and be served by waitresses in the mobcaps and aprons of a traditional English tearoom. Other features include an antique shop, a pub, a chapel, and a row of bed-and-breakfast cottages with whitewashed interiors reminiscent of Cotswold cottages a century or more ago (Figs. 6 and 7).



*Fig. 6. Bed-and-breakfast cottages in Dreamton, near Kameoka, Kyoto Prefecture (photograph by the author).*



*Fig. 7. Interior of the Pont-Oak Restaurant, Dreamton (photograph by the author).*

The attention to detail is impressive (Haruyama’s company was later hired to create the buildings in Yufuin Floral Village), but in our interview Haruyama was keen to stress that Dreamton is no theme park. Rather, it is an attempt to recreate in Japan the atmosphere and spirit that she found when visiting the Cotswolds, a place she considers to have remained more faithful to its traditional identity than her native Kyoto:

I was born in the “most historic town” in Japan, and I hate that it is getting more and more Americanized; it feels like a show. But people who just get on with their lives in the Cotswolds are cool. . . . People who have their own style are very cool.<sup>17</sup>

Dreamton village is intended to provide, not entertainment, but something akin to the experience of actually being in the Cotswolds; not settings yoked to particular texts, like the Snow White or Winnie-the-Pooh attractions to be found at Tokyo Disneyland, but an environment where such narratives might occur almost spontaneously, and where the “narrative qualities” characteristic of contents tourism can be developed through visitors’ imaginative participation. Dreamton is an oneiric space, as its name implies, and children’s literature can be an important catalyst in

activating its topoanalytical potential. Describing a forthcoming enterprise to build a traditional Italian village on similar lines to Dreamton, Haruyama described it as the kind of place one might encounter “an old man carving Pinocchio.”<sup>18</sup> Another plan was to create a Muromachi-era village, where (as her architect put it to me) you might stand beside a stream and find a Peach Boy floating toward you. In these references to Carlo Collodi’s classic Italian story and one of Japan’s most iconic folktales, the collaboration between immersive tourism and children’s literature is foregrounded, but it is implicit in Dreamton too, in its evocation of the narrative qualities of the Cotswolds.

British Hills [ブリテッシュヒルズ] in Fukushima Prefecture is an even more elaborate attempt to create an authentic experience of Britain (especially, in practice, of England), in this case specifically to children and young adults. This educational center and resort includes half-timbered guest houses with names such as Drake and Chaucer, the Ascot tearooms, the Falstaff Arms pub, “Ye Shoppe,” and, at its heart, a full-scale manor house (Figs. 8 and 9). Built in 1994, at a time when air travel was more expensive, the primary purpose of British Hills—“the Britain that anybody can visit without a passport” (*British Hills*)—was to provide an immersive British environment for university and school pupils learning English, with Kanda Institute of Foreign Languages being instrumental in its establishment. School and university groups still make up around 80% of visitors, with private and business guests accounting for the remainder (Dhebar). As far as possible, within its ample grounds only English is spoken, British food is served in the dining hall, and British sports and games such as cricket and snooker are taught. British and Commonwealth citizens are recruited as customer-facing staff, and until 2010 there was even a trained British butler, John Stanbury, to underline both the resort’s British credentials and its aristocratic representation of the country. British furniture and

bathroom fittings were imported for the guest houses and constructed by Border Oak, a Leominster company specializing in oak-framed buildings. For Ryuji Sano, the founding president of British Hills, authenticity was crucial. He wanted to avoid the kind of discomfort he often felt when seeing inaccurate representations of Japan in Western films: “I did not want to create something that British people would feel uncomfortable seeing.”<sup>19</sup>



*Fig. 8. Statue of Shakespeare in front of the Manor House, British Hills, Fukushima Prefecture (photograph by the author).*





*Fig. 9. Half-timbered guesthouse (“Drake”), British Hills (photograph by the author).*

The quest for authenticity was not only a matter of sparing hypothetical British visitors’ sensibilities but also an attempt to provide Japanese guests with accurate understanding, which Sano saw as being most effectively achieved through experience: “the real thing is not understood by appearance, it is first understood by touch.”<sup>20</sup> The result is certainly impressive: if British Hills betrays its recent construction to a British visitor, it is primarily in its relatively pristine appearance (notwithstanding the carefully constructed church “ruins” in its grounds). In practice, however, that educational strategy runs in tandem, and to an extent in competition, with the fiction-making of the students who are British Hills’s primary customers. As former butler John Stanbury noted in interview:

British Hills is a fairyland [おとぎの国]. It is England in Japan, without having to worry about getting on a plane. You can get on the Shinkansen or a school bus and come. As soon as you arrive at the gates of British Hills, it is like a door to another world.

(Stanbury)



The language of “fairyland” is familiar from reactions to the Cotswolds, but the custodians of British Hills have found that children’s literature plays a more specific role in making the place legible to visitors. For example, when guests who have stepped through this “door to another world” discover a large wardrobe in one of the manor house bedrooms, they may exclaim: “Narnia!” (Dhebar).<sup>21</sup> Similarly, Yuki Kawada, former director of British Hills, explained that in its early days students were unfamiliar with the traditions followed in the manor house’s refectory, an imposing room hung with coats of arms and chandeliers, based architecturally on the dining hall of Christ Church, Oxford (Fig. 10): “I explained that a refectory is a meeting place in a British public school . . . but after the movie *Harry Potter* was released, there was no need for explanation” (Kawada). Exposure to the Great Hall of Hogwarts (also modeled on the Christ Church dining hall) provided students not only with “historical” information but with a narrative context for their own experience. The staff whom I interviewed in 2018 told me that students and teachers alike now invariably read the building in these terms. In the words of British Hills employee, Luke Houghton:

The teachers of the schoolchildren almost uniformly introduce [the refectory] as “Hogwarts.” The teachers are telling the kids before they arrive, or as they’re getting off the bus, “This is the Harry Potter wing.” . . . These are the people that are framing the kids’ worldview, so they’re not going to question that. (Hashimoto and Houghton)



*Fig. 10. “Hogwarts” – the refectory at British Hills (photograph by the author).*

As in the Cotswolds themselves, Harry Potter has become part of repertoire of imagery through which experience is interpreted. The same is true of the cloaks with which British Hills guest rooms are provided, originally in the interests of historical accuracy (because “there were no umbrellas in the eighteenth century” [Kawada]). Kawada again initially found this a difficult concept to convey to young visitors, but that problem disappeared with the advent of Harry Potter. Although predating the first Potter film, the British Hills garments strongly resemble the gowns used by Harry and his friends, even to the placement of their heraldic crests. This should be no surprise, since both draw on common historical models, but history is routinely bypassed by British Hills’s visitors in favor of literary identification.

The automatic “Potter-fication” of sites such as British Hills is partly indicative of the narrowness of the palette with which many Japanese people have to work when finding ways to understand British culture—a less toxic version of Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie’s “danger of a

single story.” Distinctions of period, location, purpose, class, and occasion, which may be grasped intuitively by someone steeped in British culture and history, are liable to be missed by those arriving from a very different cultural context. The process is however more dynamic and bidirectional than this suggests. Lawrence Venuti has noted that the demand in the postwar United States for a certain kind of Japanese literature (emphasizing aestheticism, transience, wistfulness, and other stereotypically “Japanese” features) led to Japanese publishers and writers catering to that taste in order to secure translation and foreign sales (71-75). There is a similar circularity in the way that tourist locations present themselves in ways calculated to be attractive to tourists: catering to visitors’ desires is after all both good manners and good business. Such self-display takes various forms, from the Harry Potter merchandise on sale at the Christ Church cathedral gift shop in Oxford, to show-villages such as Lacock and Castle Combe making themselves “film-set ready” by banning television antennas and satellite dishes.

Social pressure to conform to these requirements can be intense: in 2015, for example, Peter Maddox, a resident of Bibury’s famous Arlington Row (a street so iconic that its picture appears in British passports) became the center of a regional cause célèbre when he had the temerity to spoil tourists’ photographs by parking a bright yellow car in front of his picturesque medieval cottage, an act that led eventually to the car being vandalized and a convoy of outraged yellow car drivers processing through the village in his support (“Yellow Car Owners”). Walking through Castle Combe with a young Japanese friend in 2017, I was not surprised to hear her ask, “Do people really live here?” (Fig. 11). The village does indeed look as if it might be a film set, not only when being temporarily used for location shooting in features such as *Doctor Dolittle* (1967) and *War Horse* (2011), but as if it were created specifically for the purpose, in Kameoka or perhaps Hollywood.

It is in this respect that the Cotswolds make their closest approach to Baudrillardian hyperreality, of being a copy without an original. Ironically, while the curators of Dreamton and British Hills strive for authenticity, the pressure on residents of villages such as Castle Combe and Bibury is to suppress authentic aspects of contemporary village life (such as the possession of modern technology) in favor of a fantasy construct, tailored to tourist desires. Although the staff at British Hills ruefully recounted how their attempts at historical education had been short-circuited by their guests' habit of reading what they saw through the filter of Harry Potter, in this respect British Hills is no different from historical sites in Britain itself. York's most famous medieval street, The Shambles, is now home to several Potter-themed shops, inevitably framing it in terms of its resemblance to Diagon Alley rather than its own long history; and a recent visit to Christ Church's Tom Quad was enlivened by a group of Chinese children, wearing Gryffindor robes and waving wands, for whom Cardinal Wolsey, or even Alice Liddell, might as well not have existed. They were in Hogwarts.



*Fig. 11. “Do people really live here?” – Castle Combe, Wiltshire, February 2018 (photograph by the author).*

*Japanese Manga and Anime in the Cotswolds: The Ancient Magus' Bride and Kin-iro Mosaic*

The “consumption” of the Cotswolds by Japanese visitors, whether in the Cotswolds themselves or in the region’s various Japan-based avatars, is far from being a passive activity; rather, it is characterized by the creative adaptation and reframing of Cotswold-related imagery, often in combination with *topoi* characteristic of children’s literature texts and genres. In the final section of this article, I will complete the circle of cultural production by considering two Japanese children’s texts that have been formed in significant part through this kind of activity, each using a Cotswold setting and each being in conversation with established British children’s texts and genres. Kore Yamazaki’s manga *The Ancient Magus’ Bride* [魔法使いの嫁] (2014-present) bears witness to the influence of both Harry Potter and British folklore; while the four-panel manga *Kin-iro Mosaic* [きんいろモザイク] (2010-present), by Yui Hara, draws on *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland* as well as exploiting the “Arcadian” image associated with Cotswold life. Both have been adapted into anime that confirm and extend the original texts’ use of the Cotswolds, although largely as a “stealth” setting rather than an explicit one.

The global fame of Harry Potter has, unsurprisingly, made it influential on creators of Japanese children’s texts. One obvious result has been the proliferation of stories featuring magical schools, sometimes with Britain as a setting. In the anime *Fate/stay night [Unlimited Blade Works]* (2015), for example, the college of the international Mages Association is located under the clock tower of Big Ben (“Epilogue”); while Hiromasa Yonebayashi’s 2017 feature film, *Mary and the Witch’s Flower* [メアリと魔女の花], an adaptation of Mary Stewart’s *The*

*Little Broomstick* (1971), preserves the British (in this case Shropshire) setting of its magical-school source text in a way that the director's previous adaptations of British children's books did not, perhaps in part because of this feature.<sup>22</sup> The most striking example of the type is probably Yoh Yoshinari's anime franchise *Little Witch Academia* [リトルウィッチアカデミア] (2013-17), which is set in southwest England, some thirty miles from the Cotswolds. The anime does not trouble to disguise its debt to Potter (Luna Nova Academy is even powered by a Sorcerer's Stone [魔導石]), although it also draws on the broader traditions of British boarding-school fiction, such as Enid Blyton's *Malory Towers* (1946-51) and Jill Murphy's *Worst Witch* books (1974-). Nonliterary British influence is also evident: "Blytonbury," Luna Nova Academy's neighboring town, is recognizable as a lightly disguised version of Glastonbury in Somerset, with Glastonbury's distinctive Tor and abbey ruins often visible throughout the series. The choice of location shows some sophistication, since, outside the realm of fiction, Glastonbury is Britain's most celebrated center for Wicca, paganism, and alternative spiritualities. When the series' protagonist, Akko, arrives in Blytonbury from Japan, declaring, "I'm going to become a witch here!" ("Starting Over"),<sup>23</sup> she is echoing the sentiments of many a modern Glastonbury pilgrim. For viewers aware of that context, the setting significantly modifies the experience of watching the show, evoking not only the magic of Hogwarts but also the esoteric and occult traditions of Glastonbury, particularly in the story's use of "earth mysteries" concepts such as leys.<sup>24</sup>

I mention *Little Witch Academia* here as an example both of the form in which Harry Potter's influence most typically manifests in Japanese texts—through a magical school setting—and of the ways in which that influence can be rendered more complex through its

insertion into a real geographical location. Yamazaki's *The Ancient Magus' Bride* shares this suggestive use of geography, but, although a magical-school element has indeed appeared in recent volumes, its relationship with its literary antecedents is generally more oblique. The story concerns a teenage girl, Chise Hatori, whose lifelong ability to perceive and attract supernatural creatures has brought her only misery in her native Japan. Sick of life, Chise puts herself up for auction, and is bought by a British mage named Elias Ainsworth—an ancient creature with an animal skull for a head—who uses magic to transport her to his home in the English countryside, where he proposes to make her first his apprentice and later his bride. The “beauty and the beast” element of the story is obvious, but a large part of the manga's appeal lies in the richness and generosity of its depiction of a world peopled with many kinds of supernatural creature, drawn from the traditional folklore of Britain, Ireland, and mainland Europe.

Born in 1989, Yamazaki was ten years old when the first Harry Potter book was translated into Japanese. She quickly became devoted both to that series and to others in the wave of British fantasy that followed, Darren Shan and the Cliff McNish's *Doomspell* trilogy being favorites (“250,000 copies”). The cumulative effect was to reinforce the association of Britain with magic and fantasy, so that it came to seem the natural setting for her own story. As Elias puts it in *The Ancient Magus' Bride*, Britain is “a land of ancient magic, where mages are deeply rooted in the way of life” (1: 97).<sup>25</sup> While Western children's books were important to Yamazaki's development in their own right, they also provided her with an introduction to the folklore of the British Isles: “the influence of *Harry Potter* was tremendous. I've been studying the original material since I was a child, and I gradually got drawn to the folklore of Britain and Ireland” (“250,000 copies”).<sup>26</sup> That interest shows in the multifarious magical traditions and creatures encountered by Chise over the course of the manga. In plundering books such as

Katharine Briggs's *Dictionary of Fairies* [妖精事典] (1976; trans. 1992) to populate her supernatural landscape, Yamazaki was following in the footsteps of many British fantasy authors before her, Rowling among them.

As a young mangaka living in rural Hokkaido, Yamazaki had limited opportunities for first-hand research, and she began her British-set series without ever having visited the United Kingdom, which thus remained something of a country of the imagination: "I grew up reading a lot of fantasy books about fairies. A lot of them took place in England. It was a place that was very close to my heart" (Orsini). *The Ancient Magus' Bride* uses various locations, including several episodes in London, but the primary setting remains Elias's house and its immediate surroundings, in what he calls "the countryside west of London, on the edge of England" (1: 18).<sup>27</sup> That description is vague, at most gesturing toward the Cotswolds as a liminal zone on England's "edge" rather than naming them, and the story's landscape of gentle hillsides, sheep, and woodland is probably too generic to allow more precise identification. Yamazaki's illustrations of buildings are less ambiguous, however. Working from photographs taken by a friend, she created numerous scenes with identifiable locations. When Chise and her friend Angelica are depicted sitting outside a pub near Elias's house, for example, the building is clearly modeled on the Horse and Hound in the north Cotswolds village of Broadway (3: 81; Figs. 12a and 12b). On the following page the same establishment, viewed from a different angle, is equally clearly the Mermaid Inn in Burford, some twenty miles away (3: 82; Figs. 13a and 13b), while in the 2017 anime adaptation the scene was relocated to yet a third Cotswold town, Bourton-on-the-Water ("None So Deaf"). Such details simultaneously confirm the story's Cotswold setting and frustrate any impulse to map its events to a coherent physical geography. Significantly, none of these places is named in either the manga or the anime.





*Fig. 12a. Chise and Angelica's pub in The Ancient Magus' Bride, © Kore Yamazaki/MAG Garden; and Fig. 12b. The Horse and Hound, Broadway, Worcestershire (photograph by the author).*

*Fig. 13a. Chise and Angelica's pub in The Ancient Magus' Bride © Kore Yamazaki/MAG Garden; and Fig. 13b. The Mermaid, Burford, Oxfordshire (photograph by the author).*

Although Yamazaki did not visit the United Kingdom until publication of her manga was well advanced, another form of research was open to her, as she describes in the Author's Note to volume 7. This was a field trip to British Hills, “the astonishingly wonderful establishment in Fukushima Prefecture” (175).<sup>28</sup> There, as she explains, she was able to wander round the manor house, browse the library, bathe in a lion's-paw bath, and enjoy all the amenities described earlier in this article. The highly mediated environment of British Hills thus became one of the

sources for Yamazaki's even more mediated version of the Cotswolds, and ultimately part of the filter through which future readers of her manga would experience the Cotswolds themselves. Since finally visiting the United Kingdom in 2016, in the company of staff working on the anime adaptation (8: 177), Yamazaki has expressed a desire to return and "stay in the Cotswolds for two or three nights and take plenty of reference pictures" ("New Interview" 229). Even without such direct experience, the Cotswolds have been a potent presence in her story, arguably all the more so for being uncredited, and for being at first a fantasy construction, comprised of children's literature, carefully curated images, and desire.

Yui Hara's four-panel manga, *Kin-iro Mosaic*, relates the light-hearted adventures of a group of five high-school girls in Japan. At first glance, its connection with the Cotswolds might appear slight, but two of its cast, Alice Cartelet and her half-Japanese friend Karen, have moved to Japan from England, and the manga includes reminiscences and flashbacks to their former lives. Again, British children's literature—specifically *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*—forms a significant part of the way in which England, and Alice Cartelet in particular, are read. Alice shares both her name and her hair color with Lewis Carroll's heroine, as depicted by John Tenniel. Indeed, her blonde, or *kinpatsu* [金髪], hair, which causes her Britain-obsessed friend Shinobu great excitement, partly gives the manga its name. Carroll's *Alice* is explicitly invoked early on, when Shinobu receives an airmail letter announcing Alice's imminent arrival in Japan. On hearing that the letter is from Alice, another of the group exclaims, "Wow! From Wonderland!" (1: 10).<sup>29</sup> Although this is a joke, it has some weight, because in Shinobu's imagination Britain really is a kind of wonderland. To drive the point home, the cover of the first volume of the manga shows Shinobu, dressed as Tenniel's Alice, asking a bemused Alice Cartelet whether she has seen a white rabbit, above a caption reading, "Shino in Wonderland."<sup>30</sup>

Like Yamazaki, Hara began her manga without having been to the United Kingdom. The brief depiction of Alice's house in Volume One of *Kin-iro Mosaic* reflects this: it is shown with wooden walls and a background of snow-capped mountains and forests more evocative of Japanese countryside scenes than anything to be found in southern England (Figs. 14a and 14b; 1: 13). When an anime adaptation was made in 2012, however, the production company, Studio Gokumi, resolved to pursue greater realism, and fixed on Fosse Farmhouse, a guesthouse near Castle Combe, as the setting for Alice's home (Fig. 15). Their choice was not random. Caron Cooper, Fosse Farmhouse's owner, already had Japanese connections through the hotel and antiques trades, including a close friendship with Dreamton's Marie Haruyama. In 2009, she had even welcomed NHK viewers to a cookery lesson in her home, in a Cotswold-based episode of the long-running travel series, *Somewhere Street* [世界ふれあい街歩き] ("Strolling around").

Cooper still gives lessons in English cookery to Japanese people, both in Japan and in her farmhouse kitchen, and that activity was duly replicated in the *Kin-iro Mosaic* anime, with Alice's mother teaching Alice and Shinobu to bake their names in pastry letters. The three panels originally devoted to Alice's home in the manga were expanded to almost the entire opening episode of the anime, significantly titled "In Wonderland,"<sup>31</sup> and the charm of Fosse Farmhouse's Cotswold setting was emphasized in a montage of location shots including Cirencester High Street, Arlington Row, and Bibury Court (the Jacobean manor house on the edge of Bibury). Fosse Farmhouse itself was reproduced in detail, down to the pattern on the bedspreads and the collection of rocking horses in the front garden. In later episodes, several other Cotswold views were added, readily recognizable to anyone familiar with the area.



Figs. 14a and 14b. Shinobu's arrival at, and departure from, Alice's house, as depicted in *Kin-iro Mosaic*, Volume 1 (2011). © Yui Hara/Houbunsha.

As with *The Ancient Magus' Bride*, however, none of these places is named. When Shinobu arrives in England for her homestay, she boards the train at Paddington, the London station that serves the west of the country, and Cotswold aficionados may even recognize the station where she alights as Kemble near Cirencester, but it is not until episode 11 of the anime that the word “Cotswolds” is mentioned (“Try and Guess”). Despite the near-photographic realism of the depictions of individual locations, the geography of the Cotswolds undergoes considerable contortions in *Kin-iro Mosaic*, just as in *The Ancient Magus' Bride*. For example, in episode 7 of the anime's second season (“My Dear Hero”), Karen leaves her house (represented as Bibury Court) on foot to visit Alice (in Fosse Farmhouse), continues on to the canal bridge at Bathampton, and finally returns home via Arlington Row—a round trip of some eighty miles, if one were to make it in reality rather than using the non-Euclidean cartography of anime. Such license is indicative of the arm's-length relationship of the fiction to the physical Cotswolds, and the extent to which it represents a dream country—a wonderland.



*Fig. 15. Fosse Farmhouse (photograph by the author).*



*Fig. 16. Homemade jam from Fosse Farmhouse, featuring the house as shown in the Kin-iro Mosaic anime (photograph by the author).*

Despite this, the “secret” of Alice’s house’s location has not been well kept. Sharp-eyed viewers

of the anime might have spied the address of Fosse Farmhouse written in English on a jar of homemade jam seen on Shinobu's breakfast table in episode 2 ("Although I'm Small")—a fact that has since prompted Cooper to brand her own homemade jam using a screenshot of the house (Figs. 15 and 16)—and many devotees of *Kin-iro Mosaic* have made Cooper's home a pilgrimage site. Since the anime's broadcast in 2013, most of her guests have been Japanese enthusiasts, coming to pay homage and take selfies in the places habituated by their favorite characters. Cooper has obligingly left Alice's and Shinobu's names, baked in pastry, on display. The farmhouse, having been the model *for* the anime, has thus come in turn to model itself *on* the anime. Cooper is well aware that she changes her furnishings (or even the bedspreads) at her peril, lest she disappoint her guests' expectations. Jean Baudrillard described the postmodern erasure of the distinction between reality and its simulacra in terms of loss—"[b]ecause it is difference that constitutes the poetry of the map and the charm of the territory, the magic of the concept and the charm of the real" (2)—but the collapsing of such distinctions also creates a new kind of experience, and, as is attested in Cooper's guest book, many Japanese fans of *Kin-iro Mosaic* have found visiting Fosse Farmhouse deeply moving.

*Kin-iro Mosaic* is widely considered a "healing" [癒し系] story (see, for example, Saeki), a genre characterized by heartwarming incident and innocent humor, and offering its readers and viewers respite from the pressures of daily life. As noted earlier, these qualities are also an important aspect of the way that the Cotswolds themselves are marketed and experienced in Japan. The client of Totteoki Cotswolds Tours who declares herself "cured" on seeing a beautiful Cotswold village, and the viewer of *Kin-iro Mosaic* who finds relief in following the lighthearted adventures of Alice and her friends, have much in common, and for many visitors a pilgrimage to Fosse Farmhouse effectively allows these activities to be combined. Some bring

figurines of Alice or Shinobu with them, to stand in for the characters when they take photographs. Sony Corporation has also included *Kin-iro Mosaic* in its *Butai Meguri* phone app, which uses GPS-driven augmented reality to allow fans to pose with anime characters in situ. Thus equipped, guests are able to create future memories not only of the anime's setting but of its characters' presence and company. Such technological aids exploit the potential of Cotswolds contents tourism to confer an ontologically ambiguous status on a place, making it both a location that can be physically visited and somewhere "taken from a fairy-tale." Alice's house, and by extension the Cotswolds as a whole, may be located in the west of England, but it also embodies a pastoral chronotope of "quintessential Englishness," set a little back from the present day, at a slight remove from ordinary life. It is a place where, as Mikhail Bakhtin puts it, "[t]ime . . . thickens, takes on flesh, becomes artistically visible; likewise, space becomes charged and responsive to the movements of time, plot and history" (84).

In Japan, the creation of anime with built-in contents tourism appeal is now common, with studios and local governments frequently joining forces to co-promote anime with local settings. Anime tourism is supported and publicized by initiatives such as the annual eighty-eight-stop anime pilgrimage ("Anime Pilgrimage Sites"), a title echoing traditional Buddhist pilgrimage routes such as the eighty-eight-temple trail in Shikoku. No such initiative exists in the Cotswolds. The three texts I have mentioned—*Little Witch Academia*, *The Ancient Magus' Bride*, and *Kin-iro Mosaic*—are all notably shy about advertising their precise settings, giving places false names or no names at all. The contrast naturally reflects the relative inaccessibility of the United Kingdom to Japanese manga and anime fans, but also suggests a difference in the type of imaginative work these settings are being asked to do.

## *Conclusion*

The relationship of the Cotswolds to Japan is unusual in its complexity and in the striking contrast between the area's high cultural profile and its relatively modest claims as a destination for contents tourism on the basis of literary settings, film locations, and authorial associations. To the extent that it does not facilitate premature recourse to such conventional modes of understanding, the area is a particularly illuminating example of some of the more diffuse and multifaceted ways in which contents tourism operates, which are more easily visible there than in places where they are occluded by obvious and striking associations with one or two famous names or texts.

“At times when we believe we are studying something, we are only being receptive to a kind of daydreaming,” Bachelard observed (21). The distinction is not a hard one, however; as I have argued elsewhere, much engagement with literature takes place in the aftermath of reading rather than during it, in daydream, inspiration, adaptation, tourism, fan fiction, and various forms of participatory culture, all activities warranting greater prominence in critical discourse than they have traditionally been accorded (Butler, *Literary Studies* 42-71). One barrier to their acceptance has always been the perception that, freed from the disciplinary constraints of the text, they are liable to become unruly, idiosyncratic, and thus incapable of systematic analysis. In fact, however, the many forms of literary engagement that take place outside the act of reading constitute a complex but far from chaotic system, an awareness of which is vital to understanding literature's interactions with its readers and with the world.

Familiar scholarly activities, such as investigating a text's literary sources, or seeking its locations and inspirations in the physical landscape, seem relatively “containable,” in the sense



that they are anchored to texts in demonstrable and direct ways, but as I have shown, these do not exhaust the narrative possibilities. By combining and extending established critical approaches, we can begin to map a much larger and more multidimensional territory, where physical, affective, and cultural geographies are all in dynamic play. Because readers and tourists bring their own desires and interpretative templates with them, even places with few conventional contents tourism credentials may have the power to evoke “narrative qualities” and to occasion further creative activity in the form of published work, fan fiction, or private fantasy. In this sense, the Cotswolds are significant as a paradigmatic example of a far more widespread phenomenon rather than as any kind of special case; however, they are exceptional in the extent of the multifaceted fascination they have engendered in their Japanese visitors, whose sense of Britain and its narrative potential they have done so much to shape.

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#### *Notes*

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<sup>1</sup> 英国風テーマパーク。(All translations from Japanese are by the author.)

<sup>2</sup> *Heidi, Girl of the Alps* 「アルプスの少女ハイジ」, directed by Isao Takahata, Nippon Animation, 1974; *Moomin* 「楽しいムーミン一家」, Telecable Benelux B.V., 1990.

<sup>3</sup> 大分湯布院にある「湯布院フローラルヴィレッジ」がまるでハリーポッターの世界。

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《湯布院 フローラルヴィレッジ》は『ハリー・ポッター』の撮影地にも採用された「イギリス」のコッツウォルズ地方の街並みを再現した新しいアミューズメント施設です。

<sup>4</sup> 世界一美しい村といわれるイギリス・コッツウォルズ地方の村を再現した。

<sup>5</sup> For more on shifting hierarchies of reception and their implications, see Butler, *Literary Studies* 113-22.

<sup>6</sup> Watson gives the annual number of visitors to Hill Top as seventy thousand (*Literary Tourist* 203).

<sup>7</sup> The area controlled by Cotswold District Council does not cover the southern part of the AONB, which includes Castle Combe, but stretches further east, to encompass the town of Lechlade.

<sup>8</sup> For more on Castle Combe and contents tourism, see Butler, “The Cotswolds.”

<sup>9</sup> 「イングランドで一番美しい場所: コッツウォルズ」。

<sup>10</sup> 芸術家ウィリアムモリスが「英国で一番美しい村」と称賛した村バイブリー。

<sup>11</sup> 人々が住む自然とともに暮らすのどかな雰囲気と。

<sup>12</sup> 心癒されるイングランドの原風景。

<sup>13</sup> 童話の世界で見たようなコッツウォルズの愛しい村。

<sup>14</sup> おとぎ話から抜け出てきたよう。

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<sup>15</sup> すっかりガリバーになった気分だ。この町に着いたら、まずここに訪れ、街とその川を散策し、再びこの施設を訪れると楽しさは2倍になる。

<sup>16</sup> The Cotswolds are not unique in this respect. A comparable example is the popular association of Studio Ghibli's *Kiki's Delivery Service* with Ross Village Bakery in Tasmania, which has become a center for contents tourism despite not having been used as a source by the studio itself (Norris, "Japanese Media Pilgrimage"; Norris, "Studio Ghibli" 115-22).

<sup>17</sup> 日本の中で [Most historic town] で生まれているので、だからそれがどんどんアメリカ化されているというか、ショーな感じになっていて嫌い。で、ただコッツウォルズとか暮らしている人たちはかっこいい。...自分のスタイルを暮らしている人はすごくかっこよくて。

<sup>18</sup> おじさんがピノキオを切っているところ。

<sup>19</sup> イギリス人が見て違和感を覚えるようなものは創りたくなかった。

<sup>20</sup> 本物は見た目では分からない。触ってみて、初めて分かる。

<sup>21</sup> Wardrobes are not traditional items of Japanese furniture—to the extent that, when C. S. Lewis's *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe* (1950) was translated into Japanese, its title was reduced to simply *The Lion and the Witch* 「ライオンと魔女」.

<sup>22</sup> Both *Arrietty* (also *The Secret World of Arrietty*) 「借りぐらしのアリエット」 (2010), based on Mary Norton's *The Borrowers* (1952), and *When Marnie was There* 「思い出

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のマーニー」 (2014), based on Joan G. Robinson's *When Marnie was There* (1967), relocated the stories from Britain, to suburban Tokyo and Hokkaido respectively.

<sup>23</sup> 私、ここで魔女になるんだ！

<sup>24</sup> Alfred Watkins's foundational book on leys, *The Old Straight Track* (1925), is referred to as early as the first short film of 2013, where it forms the subject of a lecture at Luna Nova. For a Japanese perspective on Glastonbury's alternative religions, see Kawanishi.

<sup>25</sup> 古い魔法の国。魔法使いは生活に根付いた大事な存在なのさ。

<sup>26</sup> ハリー・ポッターの影響はすさまじいものがあります。子供の頃から元ネタを調べていくうち、どんどんブリテンやアイルランドの伝承に惹かれていきました。

<sup>27</sup> ロンドンの西イングランドの端っこの田舎。

<sup>28</sup> 福島県にあるトンデモ素晴らしい施設。

<sup>29</sup> すげー！不思議の国かー。

<sup>30</sup> 不思議の国のシノブさん。

<sup>31</sup> 不思議の国の。

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